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621 622 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 623 193 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses. Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono* 554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was 554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange- 264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the 574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 565 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu* were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa Haka-iki. [144] All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

● 554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

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619 621 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 554 593 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, respectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki.* The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 554 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki,* and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu,* chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki.* She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki.* Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu,* sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

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chief and chiefess are *haka-iki* (literally(made-chief) and *ha'a-te-pe'iu* or *haka-te-pe'iu* (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole.

Manner of Becoming a Chief

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. The chief referred to his people as his *hua'a*, the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as *hua'a*. *Tama*, literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances..

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fañ tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since.

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son.

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 217, New York, 1876.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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The elaborate festival that would be celebrated when the new arena was completed, and the ode, composed in honor of the youth, that would be chanted, would constitute an historic event that would glorify the individual, his family and his tribe, to the end of the memory of man, or certainly as long as there was any man living who could tell posterity for whom the place of celebration (*taha ko'ina*) had been built.

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The eulogistic chants had also a religious aspect, but this was more important in certain other chants that were recited for the first-born when he was a child. (See p. 23.) One of the fundamental concepts in the native religion was the belief that men and gods, in fact all things and beings whatever their nature, on account of a sympathetic psychic rapport that was thought to exist naturally (as between relatives), or that could be artificially established, were subject to direct influence through the medium of and by means of the repetition of "words with power" in dynamic chanting, and by dynamic movements accompanying the recital. The process of empowering the individual was also aided by the use of potent objects that served as mediums of psychic power. It is not difficult to picture the atmosphere of these occasions, nor to realize the actual effect that must have come to the child or youth. To the Marquesan, the feeling of the sense of power that must have come as an ever increasing accession during these performances would be sufficient proof of the actual effect; and we may surmise that the exuberant personal vanity characteristic of these people rendered the effect actual and lasting. The expansive feelings of pride and satisfaction would not be passing sensations but lasting realities that would be roused anew with every reminder of the event. Unquestionably these eulogistic singings had just the beneficial effects that the Marquesans attributed to them, though perhaps, American and European students will believe, from causes and in a manner different from those imagined by the natives.

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Besides the *putu, pehi, pipine* and *pope* (pp. 23-4), which were the only types of which Haapuane, my Marquesan informant, knew the melodies, there were a number of other kinds of eulogistic songs for different occasions. Several of these, the *Ti'e-mata* and *Faufau-oa*, were composed to be sung for the first-born boy at the chanting festival (p. 23), celebrating the completion of his education in the learning of the sacred chants and genealogies. The *pope* was composed and sung at the time of the consecration of a new house for the first-born; and the *putu* and *pehi* were performed in his honor when he had attained to young manhood. In addition to these, two other types of eulogistic chants may be mentioned. The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar to the *pipine*, but instead of honoring a young girl, it was composed and sung in honor of a

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sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

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his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

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one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 611 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 611 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 [519] The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This community center was rated as part of the chief's household establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

Households were graded

in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house.

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343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 [773] The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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554 584 592 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 592 595 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

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Below the priests ranked the *toa*, the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga*, or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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